Eyewitness in The Congo, P. 2

President Johnson Shows His Anger Over War-Mongering Press Speculation on Vietnam

"Q. Mr. President, is expansion of the Vietnam war into Laos or North Vietnam a live possibility at this point?

"A. I think Mr. [Malcolm] Kilduff [assistant White House press secretary] reviewed with you yesterday the feelings of this Administration [when he advised the press not to expect "any great horrendous decision"]. . . . When you crawl out on a limb, you always have to find another one to crawl back on. And I have just been sitting here in the serene atmosphere of the Pedernales for the last few days reading about the wars that you have involved us in, and the additional undertakings that I have made decisions on, or that General Taylor has recommended, or that Mr. McNamara plans, or that Secretary Rusk envisages. . . . Some people are speculating and taking positions that are somewhat premature. . . . In retrospect, as you look back over your writings . . . they're somewhat similar. . . . I don't know whether you have a blacksheet that you take out and every time we have a meeting on it [Vietnam], rewrite it. But at Honolulu we had these dire predictions. . . . I anticipate that there will be no dramatic announcement to come out of these meetings, except in the form of your speculations." *—LBJ at his ranch Nov. 28.*

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LBJ's Historic Opportunity for Peace

The crises in foreign policy which confronted President Johnson on his return to Washington may be summed up in one question. Is our objective to build a more stable world, or to dominate the earth? Whether we look at Southeast Asia, or at the Congo, or at the conflict in NATO over MLF, or at the split threatening the UN, we see stresses developed by U.S. insistence on having its own way. If it were possible to impose a *Pax Americana* on the globe, Roman style, the salutary end might justify the painful means. But the number of our missiles is a delusive measure of our power. These give us the capacity to destroy the world, but not to make it obey us. The Vietcong peasant with his home-made shotgun, the Congolese rebel with his spear, de Gaulle with his nuclear slingshot, illustrate difficulties our superiority in firepower, though fantastic, cannot overcome. We cannot impose our will on Asia nor on Africa nor on a recovered Western Europe. "We made a mistake in going in there," Senator Russell said of Vietnam after a visit to the LBJ ranch Nov. 25, "but I can't figure out any way to get out without scaring the rest of the world." What will frighten the world more is if we persist in wasting our strength trying to solve complex problems by military means. Nothing would reassure it more than to see us use our resources to take the leadership in a struggle of a very different sort, for a safer world.

A Wilful Horse

This is the choice the President must make. "Never since 1945," the British Left Laborite Michael Foot wrote in the London *Tribune* (Nov. 27) on the eve of Prime Minister Wilson's visit to Washington, "has an American President occupied a better posture from which he can launch a real initiative for peace." His electoral victory gives Mr. Johnson in the next few months a power for peace he is unlikely ever to have again. But to use it he has to exercise leadership of an unmistakable kind. The military, diplomatic and intelligence bureaucracies of this country's government, like most of its press, are geared to permanent cold war and rendered insecure by any turn toward relaxation of tension. Only a strong President, freshly elected by an overwhelming majority, can take initiatives which go against the grain of this mammoth apparatus. Mr. Johnson complained at his ranch last weekend of the warmongering in the U.S. press about Vietnam. His complaint was justified. But as an experienced Washington hand he also must know that these were planted stories intended to deprive him of freedom to decide freshly just what he wants to do.

As Labor's Left Sees MLF

"I regard with gloom the prospect of the first international act of the Labour Government having to go off to Washington to sign on as 'Tail-End Charlies' in an American nuclear bomber with a German co-pilot. . . . The present situation does not call for any immediate measures to strengthen NATO but rather . . . of how to get on with disarmament. . . . The crisis [in NATO] is being brought about by the fact that the U.S. wishes to appease the West German desire for nuclear weapons. . . . We should take our stand on the UN Charter and not on the military alliances. . . . Unless and until Germany agrees to accept her frontiers . . . we should be totally opposed to any more armaments for Germany. . . . We should give notice that . . . in case they go on with policies we consider provocative such as the MLF, we will start pulling our troops back from NATO . . . and using the money for our economic and social program at home."

—Konni Zilliacus in the House of Commons, Nov. 23.

As Mr. Johnson approaches his hour of decision, he cannot do better than remember the humiliating disaster to which John F. Kennedy was led at the Bay of Pigs in the very first months of a new Administration. The outcome demonstrated that the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the CIA for all their resources were incapable soberly of assessing the situation in a little country as close to us as Cuba. The same apparatus is now urging expansion of the war in Southeast Asia and deeper involvement in the Congo, which may easily become a second Vietnam. That Rube Goldberg device, the MLF, is another product of the same bureaucratic labyrinth, as is our collision course at the UN on the question of peace-keeping costs. Mr.

(*Continued on Page Four*)

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A French Correspondent, Just Back From The Congo, on The Savagery We Don't Hear About

Tshombe Would Fall Without White Mercenaries and U.S. Arms Aid

By Emile Lejeune*

When I returned to Paris, I saw in a large evening newspaper, spread across 8 columns, a horrible headline: "Stanleyville Hostages Wait to Be Eaten". I did not recall that one could push indecency so far, nor that one could exploit horror to such a point. What the hostages feared was not cannabalism. It was death, and that was enough. Everything in this story is hateful: from the very idea of hostages up to the assassination by his own troops of the revolutionary chief who tried to stop the massacre of the whites.

One will never be able to say enough about the hideous senselessness of these murders. But one could at least demand that emotion make no distinction between victims of different color and that indignation not be so cynically selective. For in the course of the last four months I have seen planes strafe and burn dozens of villages. I have seen tens of thousands of peasants exterminated in the bush by the army of M. Tschombé. Their corpses are still there; the stench hangs over the streets and the fields of a ruined country.

Double Standard

Who cares? Only when the troops of General Olenga, commander of the *Armée Populaire* (termed "a band of rebels"), threatened to execute white hostages did the civilized world, as it is termed, notice that a savage war was raging in the Congo, one that did not spare civilians. No voice is ever raised in the Western world in favor of the Africans. Those elements of the Congolese army which swept through the Albertville area like a flaming lance set fire to all the villages in the region of Fizzi and of Baraka. That was the mission assigned them. They grilled alive all the men and women they encountered. These were their orders. Only the children were spared. No government intervened. There is one law for the Whites and another for the Blacks.

For six months the Tschombé government has stayed in power thanks only to white support. Only mercenaries, come from Rhodesia and South Africa for the pleasure of "cracking Negro heads", have made it possible to stop and then to push back the revolutionary wave. Tschombe's military adviser is a Belgian, Colonel Van de Walle. The planes which supply the regular forces are American, piloted by Americans. The pursuit planes which machine-gun and bombard the *Soumialist* troops and the villages which have joined the rebellion are American and piloted by anti-Castro Cubans. Massacred by the American and Belgian military, the insurgents threatened to revenge themselves on American and Belgian civilians. That's abominable, but it is not astonishing.

Where would the Congo be today without foreign intervention? It would probably be in the hands of the rebels. No force seems able to stop them. The Katanga gendarmes? For several weeks after his accession to power, M. Tschombe thought that he could make them the spearhead of the Congolese army. He was wrong: the gendarmes began by demanding their back pay. Then they asked an advance. Finally, they refused to fight. At Bukavu their weapons served to intimidate the street-walkers when the girls demanded pay.

Why make your livelihood in the risks of combat if you can do better by pillaging and by selling arms to the rebels? That's how they see it in the Congolese army.

Unable to wage pitched battles with their rudimentary weapons (which very often were not firearms), the troops of Gaston Soumialot are learning today in blood and fire the hard lesson of the Algerian and Indochinese peasants: how to wage guerrilla war. Thanks to these methods, Pierre Mulele has been able to defy the legal authorities for a year. M. Tschombé can win military victories, Belgian parachutists can retake Stanleyville, but peace cannot be reestablished that way any more than in South Vietnam. Achieving power after the murder of Lumumba by the grace of the mining companies; victorious, thanks to white mercenaries and foreign armies; rejected by the Organization of African Unity and by the third world as a whole, M. Tschombe has no way of rallying the Congolese nation to his banner.

The One Safe Way Out

"If the U.S. and Belgium continue to back Tshombe militarily, they will find themselves opposed not only by the Congolese rebels but by most of Africa. . . . There is only one way in which the Belgians and the Americans can extricate themselves from the present situation in the Congo and damp down the dangerous anti-Western feelings which are inflaming Africa. They should publicly identify themselves with the Organization of African Unity's insistence on a cease-fire in the Congo to be followed by political reconciliation. . . . They should then seek agreement with the OAU to secure the quarantining of the Congo from all foreign military intervention through a new initiative at the UN. . . . If the West genuinely proposes to disengage itself from the Congo, the Russians will support an OAU-UN initiative. Their own interests are involved in securing Western and Chinese disengagement."

—Colin Legum in The (London) Observer, Nov. 29.

*** M. Lejeune, just back from the Congo, wrote this for the splendid first issue of Le Nouvel Observateur (Nov. 26) the new French liberal weekly (10 rue des Pyramides, Paris 1er) edited by Jean Daniel, formerly of L'Express.**

Two Senators Warned Last August Against U. S. Intervention in the Congo Rebellion

"Mr. President, yesterday's announcement that the U.S. is sending 4 Air Force transports and 106 American fighting men, including 40 paratroopers, to the Congo arouses my apprehension. . . . Is this but the first of a series of steps? . . . Will it be followed by others which gradually escalate our efforts, so that ultimately we shall be involved in another undeclared war, as in Vietnam?"

—Stennis (D. Miss.) in the Senate Aug. 14.

"The news of increased U.S. involvement in the Congolese revolution is disturbing. . . . Already it appears that three Americans have lost their lives in the tribal rebellion in Kivu province. Before long more American lives are likely to be lost if our unilateral participation continues to increase. . . . The jungle of emergent African politics is marked with pitfalls for the unwary outsider."

—Mansfield (D. Mont.) in the Senate Aug. 21.

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Mississippi Negro Farmers Unrepresented on Loan and Crop Committees

Secretary of Agriculture Promises Action on Rural Discrimination

A Negro's life in the rural South can be utterly wretched when U.S. farm programs are run by and for whites only. And that is just how they are being run in Mississippi. To give Washington a worm's-eye view of the problem, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee recently brought nine Mississippi Negroes here. Their stories, which they told at a little noticed public hearing, were so painful that they inspired a meeting at the Department of Agriculture with all its top officials, including Secretary Freeman.

"The White Man Takes Your Land"

Charles Dixon, who farms 27 acres in Holmes county, told why until this year he had not applied to the Farmer's Home Administration for a loan to build a new home for his wife and ten children. They now live in a one room building with three beds, two for four children each and "two in bed with me and my wife." "I was afraid," Dixon explained. "I didn't apply because I thought I would lose my land too. . . . All they [the FHA] want you to do is miss one payment, and the white man takes your land." No regular member of the 82 FHA county committees is a Negro, even though Negroes constitute 62% of the farm population, and committee members are appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture.

There also are no Negroes on the all-important Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation (ASC) committees. They administer the crop allotment program; that is, they decide how much of his land a farmer may plant. The ASC county committees are elected. When asked why he didn't vote this year, Dixon said he never received a ballot. Just last week in Panaloa county, the ASC chairmen tried to intimidate ten Negroes who had been nominated for places on the county committee. Four of them withdrew their names, but the Agriculture Department had three of the names restored.

The cruelest discrimination takes place in the Surplus Food Program. The food is supposed to go to impoverished families. Sometimes county officials don't request the food from Washington because they know 90% of it will go to Negroes. Some food items that are requested have a way of being sidetracked into white retail establishments where they are sold to the public. At the SNCC meeting, Fannie Lou Hamer, who ran for Congress on the Freedom Democratic Party ticket, testified that she had never seen butter among the surplus food although it is supposed to be there. When a relative of hers went to the local grocery store, he came back bearing a crate in which butter had been packaged. It bore the label, "U.S. Surplus Food—Not For Sale."

Secretary Freeman is said to have been shocked by some of these revelations. He committed his Department to remedial action. He already has ordered an investigation of the surplus food program. In addition, he promised to appoint Negroes to the three-man FHA county committees and to the state ASC committees in Mississippi. Similar appointments in the past have been selected from the ranks of "Uncle Toms." This time they will be chosen from a list drawn up by COFO workers. Freeman also promised to establish an Ad Hoc Negro Advisory Board to report on the administration of all the Department's programs. Each county will have one Negro advisor. They will meet every month, expenses paid, with a Department consultant in each of Mississippi's six congressional districts. The consultants will in turn fly to Washington for monthly meetings with the Secretary. Freeman is moving just in time. The Civil Rights Commission is about to issue a report on discrimination in his Department's programs. The test of his commitment will come January 1, the date on which appointments to FHA and ASC committees must be made. If he doesn't follow through, it will be a blow to the war on poverty. Rural Mississippi counties are among the poorest in the country.

Speaking of Savages

"At least 50 persons were partner to the conspiracy to murder Mr. Schwerner, it is believed here. As for motivation for murder, it is suggested by some that the Klan mob was worked up to an embittered conviction that the state was facing an invasion by Yankee beatniks, Jews and other 'scum' and decided to make Mr. Schwerner an example. . . . Even today there are Philadelphians who say they cannot comprehend 'all this fuss over two Jews and a nigger.'"

—Homer Bigart in the New York Times, Nov. 29.

A Half Century Ago Hoover Regarded the Negro Rights Movement With Suspicion

In his outburst about Martin Luther King, J. Edgar Hoover was running true to form. For nearly a half century Hoover has regarded the movement for Negro equality with suspicion.* Forty-five years ago Hoover was made chief of a new division in the FBI to deal with sedition. Among its earliest reports were two which dealt with "agitation" among Negroes. "The reds have done a vast amount of evil damage," said a report sent to Congress late in 1919, "by carrying doctrines of race revolt" to Negroes. A collection of articles from the Negro press was captioned, "Radicalism and Sedition Among the Negroes as Reflected in Their Publications." One quotation said, "The colored people . . . must arouse themselves to the fullness of their powers and inherent rights." Apparently Hoover regarded this as subversive.

With World War II, the Negro became strong enough politically to demand Federal enforcement of his civil rights. Hoover opposed this. In a letter to the Attorney General in 1946, he argued that the FBI was "expending a considerable amount of manpower" investigating crimes in the South "in which there cannot conceivably be any violation of a Federal statute." He felt it was "a mistake for the Department to accept for investigation so many of these cases."

Hoover's animosity to the Negro was again visible in the first public speech he made since the protests stirred by the press conference in which he attacked the Rev. King. In his "Sword of Loyola" award speech in Chicago Nov. 24 he pledged that the FBI would remain "objective in its investigations" and spoke of pressure groups "which would crush the rights of others under heel in order to achieve their own ends" and accused them of "carping, lying and exaggerating." A few more speeches of this kind and somebody's liable to award Hoover an honorary nightshirt.

** See Max Lowenthal's "The FBI" (1950) and Fred J. Cook's "The FBI Nobody Knows" (1964). Recommended.*

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Germany's Socialists Are The Only Ones In Europe to Approve the MLF

(*Continued from Page One*)

Johnson has mounted a wilful horse, which can carry him off to one bad spill after another, if he does not make it clear now, who is the master.

A Fresh Look Before A Fresh Plunge

The country needs and deserves a fresh look at a whole series of stale situations. The same military and political advisers who persuaded Mr. Johnson to call the inglorious Diem "the Churchill of Asia" on his visit to Vietnam in 1961 would drag him deeper into that morass. The demonologists who continue to see the colonial upsurge as a Communist plot would commit us further to military support of Tshombe in the Congo against the will of all Africa. Never was a more complex tangle reduced to a more simpleminded melodrama than to represent the intricate tribal rivalries and elitist aspirations in the Congo as a long-range seduction from Moscow and/or Peking. The question in the Congo is not the right to rescue citizens in trouble, but the wisdom of policies which got them into trouble. Beginning last spring we identified the U.S. with Tshombe by placing U.S. planes and military men, "counter-insurgency" experts and the CIA, at his disposal in the savage war of extermination (See P. 2) he has been waging against rebellious provinces, a war that has made Americans hated in the Congo.

Above all the President needs to free himself from the imprisoning web spun by his bureaucracies on the MLF. Its rejection by Belgium, the attack upon it by the new British Prime Minister in the Commons last Monday, the statement by Chairman Chet Holifield of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy that he has "grave doubts" about the project should warn Mr. Johnson that it faces a growing storm at home and abroad. Kennedy was dubious of this contraption. If Mr. Johnson wants to know why it creates such disquiet in both Western and Eastern Europe, let him ask his aides for a full report on the party conference held last week by Germany's Social Democrats. Behind the podium was a huge map of Germany in its 1937 frontiers; to achieve them would require war or atomic blackmail against Poland and Russia. Equivocal support was given the hopes of the Sudeten Germans for a return to the Czechoslovakia they dismembered with Hitler in 1938. (Anatole Shub from Karlsruhe in the *Washington Post*, Nov. 27.) When Max Brauer, the venerable former Burgomaster of Hamburg, pleaded with the delegates that the MLF "ghost fleet" would violate the ancient customs of the sea by pretending to be merchantmen (*Die Welt*, Nov. 27), his protest drew little echo. The conference voted for MLF though its opponents pointed out that this would mean that they would be the only Socialists in Europe to approve the project (*London Times*, Nov. 27). The scene must recall in both Belgium and the East how the majority German Socialists rallied to the Kaiser in 1914. Under cover of a cry about strengthening NATO, we are strengthening a revanchist Germany. In doing so we are blighting the hope of progress toward an easing of the arms burden and the war fear. "A defense policy which does not contain within itself the seeds of further progress towards disarmament," Prime Minister Wilson told the Commons last Monday, "is one which in the present state of the world, we can no longer regard as appropriate." These are the warnings and the voices Mr. Johnson should heed before he finds himself and the country propelled into a sea of troubles.

What Vietnam's Civilians May Not Understand

"Whatever the outcome of South Vietnam's war for survival the U.S. Armed Forces will emerge from it vastly better prepared to cope with guerrilla-type wars —the most likely sort of conflict in the years ahead. . . . There are now about 20,000 U.S. military men advising and training South Vietnamese forces. . . . Thousands more are likely to get their turns before that war is finished. It all adds up to a body of experience that may pay important dividends in future operations elsewhere. . . . All of this 'on the job' training has had its price—U.S. casualties in a three-year campaign are creeping toward the 2,000-mark in dead, wounded and missing. But for the first time in American history this Country may, as a result, be ready for new conflicts and military challenge with the weapons of the future rather than with those of past wars. The men on the line in South Vietnam understand this, though the civilian population may not."

—*Vietnam: Laboratory for War, in* The National Guardsman, *December, 1964.*

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